Peace News

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Appeal to British scientific workers launched

BRITISH & DUTCH SCIENTISTS ACT TO END TESTS

Dutch Cabinet petitioned by Academy physicists

New moves by British and Dutch scientists to halt further nuclear and atomic tests are reported.

In Holland the physics section of the Royal Netherlands Academy took the unusual course last Friday of petitioning the Netherlands Government to "use every means" to stop atomic test explosions.

The Academy addressed its petition to Premier Dr. W. Drees, as Chairman of the Cabinet.

Quoting the conclusions of an Inquiry Commission of the Academy, which investigated the danger of radio-activity resulting from atomic test explosions, the statement said it had been decided at a meeting "to urge the Government, in view of the dangers of radio-activity resulting from experimental atomic explosions, to use every means at its disposal to stop these explosions."

The Academy asks Dr. Drees to inform the other members of the Cabinet of the Academy's decision and request them "to take appropriate action."

British appeal

In Britain scientific workers are asked to sign the appeal launched in the USA by Dr. Linus Pauling and endorsed by over 2,000 American scientists.

Dr. Alex Comfort, Nuffield Research Fellow, broadcaster, poet, novelist and sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, is organising the appeal in Britain.

"In response to encouragement from many countries, the American organisers now wish to enlist support from scientists outside the US, even if that should involve some duplication or repetition of statements already made in opposition to continued nuclear tests," Dr. Comfort told Peace News on Tuesday.

The appeal reads:

We, the British scientists whose names

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THE BBC TACKLES CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

Peace News Reporter

HOW can a Christian or a Church say that the making of the atom bombs can ever be according to the mind of Christ?

This and many other searching questions were asked in a BBC broadcast on "Christianity and War" on Sunday.

"Pacifists will be glad that 'Christianity and War' was included in the present series, 'The Way of Life,' Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union told Peace News after the broadcast.

"Any impartial listener could hardly have failed to reach the conclusion on the evidence given that the Christian attitude to war must be to renounce it, although if a judge had summed up in the way in which the discussion was concluded there would have been an immediate appeal on the ground of misdirection.

"Love your enemies"

The broadcast was advertised as a discussion on the text "Love your enemies," and a strong claim was made for a recognition of the fact that Christ renounced war and urged non-resistance.

"It was interesting," Stuart Morris told Peace News, "that although the Bible and the experience of early Christians were used to support that claim, when it came to putting the other point of view the evidence, except for some quotations from the Old Testament, came from Constantine's address to his generals, Pope Urban's call to the Crusades, the play 'The Tiger at the Gate,' and Grotius' requirements for a just war.

"At least, there was no attempt to justify war in terms of Catholic theology, or to claim Christ's warrant for it. Indeed, as the broadcast proceeded it appeared that

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Gen. Norstad was glad he had written

"*I AM a citizen of West Berlin, a city whose population has, of course, not the smallest chance of survival in a nuclear war in Europe.*

"*Under the circumstances, I and many other Berliners were alarmed by your recent statement that NATO Forces would use nuclear weapons even in the case of a Russian attack with conventional weapons.*

"*Would your intention to use nuclear weapons against a Communist attack by other means also apply if such an attack came from 'within' (West Berlin)? Who has authority to decide whether there is sufficient evidence for a Communist attack from 'within' to start a nuclear war?*"

Heinz Kraschutzki, German member of the War Resisters' International, sent this letter to the Supreme Commander of Nato Forces in Europe, General Norstad:

When by August he had had no reply, he sent a further letter, repeating his request for a clear definition of what constituted a Communist attack, and adding:

"I am very willing to help defend this country against any attempt to reintroduce a totalitarian regime, be it Communist or Fascist, but since military defence will inevitably result in the complete annihilation of the German people, I will only participate in defence by non-violent means, which have proved effec-

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A daily observance—picketing the Atomic Energy Commission, during the month-long prayer and conscience vigil to persuade the American Government to call off nuclear tests. The vigil began on Nov. 1 in Washington, USA.

The right to travel

By WILLIAM WORTHY

William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American and for CBS News (Columbia Broadcasting System), whose article, "China's Street Committees," appeared in Peace News, June 7, was one of the three American newsmen to defy the State Department's ban to travel to Communist China, and is now engaged in a legal fight to obtain a new passport.



Here he describes his adventures in the running fight against obstructing US officials on that "forbidden journey".

MY 20-yard stride over the narrow foot-bridge connecting Hong Kong with Communist China was as undramatic as an early morning stroll to the corner to buy the New York Times. But because those few steps have cost me my passport and have precipitated a prolonged legal battle to get it back, they may in the end lead to the first Supreme Court affirmation of the constitutional right of United States citizens to travel freely.

That solitary luggage-laden walk had a lengthy history behind it. In the Spring of 1953 I chose what seemed like the stragetic moment—the prospects of truce in Korea—to file my first application for a visa to enter China.

Washington deplores

At the time I was in the Crown Colony of Hong Kong. At the local bureau of Hsinhua, the official Chinese news agency, I got my cup of tea and the usual courteous Oriental reception, but no satisfaction.

Next stop was Panmunjom. The day the truce was signed I discussed visas with two Communist correspondents regularly stationed in Peking. They promised to relay my wishes to the proper authorities. But that effort also was abortive. The Chinese ban on US newsmen, first imposed in 1949, when the Communists took over the mainland, had still three years to run.

In April, 1955, the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung seemed to offer a new opportunity to press my Chinese visa application.

Premier Chou En-Lai was there; in fact, he stole the show. But not until the final

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The right to travel

● FROM PAGE ONE

night, at the lavish Saudi-Arabian reception, was Chou briefly accessible to pressmen. Several of us put the 64-dollar question to him. His answer was noncommital:

"I am sure that American correspondents will come to China before Chinese correspondents go to America."

In exactly 20 months Chou's prediction was borne out. I left the train on the British side of that antiquated frontier bridge and walked into the quarantined and forbidden land.

Within hours, Washington reacted. It "deplored." But to my ears in Peking, and to the ears back home of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the official words were spouted in the frustrated tone of angry men who had refused to believe I was not bluffing about calling their bluff.

Dulles wants gagged Press

They had been warned long in advance. Throughout my efforts to obtain the visa, ACLU and I had kept the State Department informed. The response was always negative. Finally, I told the Department's legal adviser that if the Chinese ever came through with a visa I would ignore the US ban and go.

I said I could never accept the dangerous premise that the Secretary of State enjoys the power to control the Press by dictating the places to which newsmen may and may not journey.

The right to travel, it seems to me, comes under the First Amendment protection of free speech and a free Press, since "the right to think and speak necessarily involves the right to free access to the facts and to other people's thoughts."

My trip represented the first legal challenge of what the New York Times has politely called "one of Mr. Dulles' most controversial theses": namely, that "every American citizen has an obligation to be responsive to US foreign policy. . . ."

That was his reply when he was asked this summer at a Press conference if he regarded US newsmen as instruments of foreign policy.

However, a happy side of my forbidden trip is that it has ended a decade of nationwide inertia over the State Department's arbitrary and secretive passport procedure. Apropos, one factor that has kept the Department from "sitting" on my case ad infinitum is that its dogged months-old investigation of my entire life—an investigation that got under way the moment I entered China—has turned up nothing on which even a "pink" political smear could be based.

Passport-snatching trickery

After my return to the US I was invited to tell my passport story before the liberal Senate Judiciary Sub-committee on Constitutional Rights.

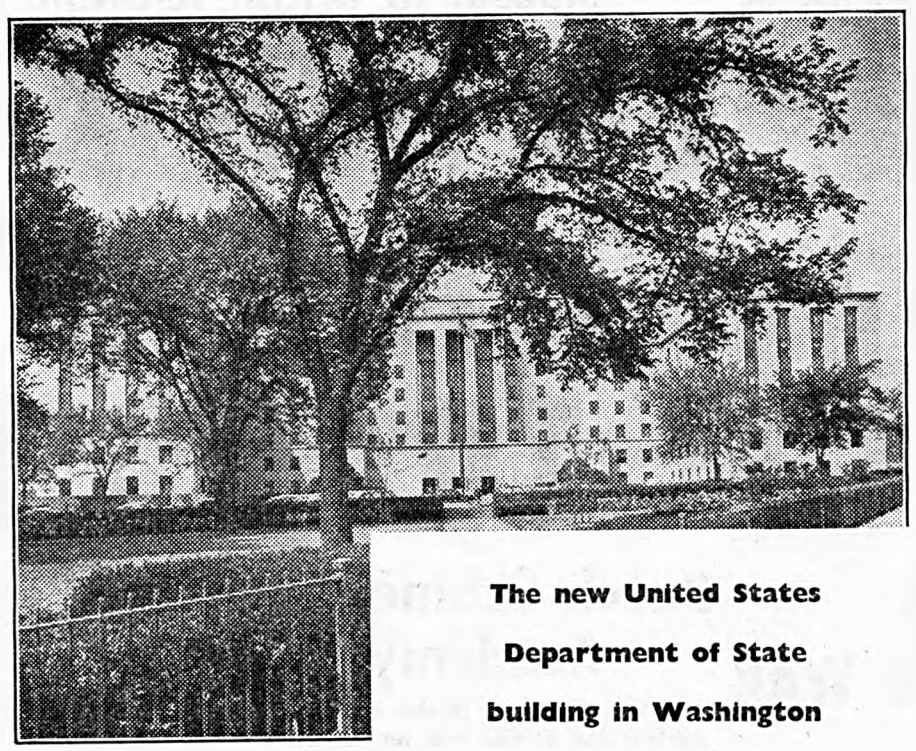
I made a special point of telling the Senators of an episode in Moscow on my way home from Peking. The US Ambassador, Charles E. Bohlen, asked me to come to his office so that he and the Embassy counsellor might inspect my passport. The purpose was to determine whether the Chinese, whose Government we do not recognise, had put any entry or exit stamps on my passport (they had not).



CHARLES BOHLEN

But before I would hand it over for inspection I obtained a firm, unambiguous pledge that it would be returned to me immediately, and would not be invalidated.

The reason for my caution, I explained to the sympathetic sub-committee, was that, on numerous unpublicised occasions in recent years, the US Government has tricked unsuspecting citizens into surrendering their passports at US consulates abroad for "routine inspection."



The new United States Department of State building in Washington

On arrival at the consulates the startled victims of this official "confidence" game saw their all-important passports disappear into the locked desks of surly consuls or stamped "valid only for immediate return to the USA." As a rule, no reasons were given, no hearings granted.

"Because we've got you"

The other main portion of my testimony dealt with my contact in Budapest with the American Legation. In the 48-hour interval between my session in Moscow with Mr. Bohlen and my arrival in the Hungarian capital, fresh instructions had gone out from the State Department. The new orders were: Take Worthy's passport. Invalidate it except for a one-way trip home.

Perhaps on no other occasion was the rigid, disciplinary mentality of our passport officials more clearly revealed. I was due home in exactly three days. For over a week Press dispatches emanating from Peking and Moscow had spelled out my itinerary and time-table. In addition, CBS News had billed me as guest on Eric Sevareid's Sunday afternoon network television show whose regular air time practically coincided with my expected arrival in New York.

To get their hands on my passport, then, Mr. Dulles and his subordinates had only to wait 72 hours. They could have avoided the unseemly spectacle of the US Consul coming to my hotel in Budapest and demanding my travel papers in a lobby full of Hungarians who well understood the lack of freedom of movement.

I declined to surrender the passport. The Consul, Richard R. Selby, Jr., then informed me that I would be "wise" to obey the order "because we've got you."

He went on to explain that the Legation could notify the authorities in neighbouring non-Communist countries that I was travelling with an invalid passport, which they would then pick up as soon as I left Hungary.

Still hanging on to it

Passport-snatching at the border and forcible removal from the overnight train I was about to take to Vienna were not pleasant prospects. I still refused to hand over the precious document, and a few hours later, in a CBS short-wave broadcast from Budapest, I described this encounter with Mr. Selby.

At 4 o'clock next morning, when I arrived at the pitch-black Hungarian-Austrian border, I was met by a husband and wife reporter team, Ed Clarke of Time and Catherine Clark of INS, both eager to be on hand for the potentially sensational set-to.

But whatever the reason—a change of line in Washington, a refusal by Vienna to get entangled in America's dirty linen—the Austrians did not take the passport. Nor did the Swiss at Zurich nor the British in London. Nor, for that matter, did our own immigration service at Boston next day. An inspector glanced through the many pages bearing visas of some 50-odd countries, then passed it back to me without inserting the usual "admitted" stamp.

The logical Orwellian 1984 question that I asked myself was: In the eyes of those who administer the passport-visa-fingerprinting monstrosity known as the McCarran Immigration Act, had I "un-returned" from China whose existence we deny?

They get it at last

Once back home, bodily if not juridically, the Civil Liberties Union advised me to sit tight and await Mr. Dulles' further demands for my passport.

But no such demands ever came. Obviously Washington was now hoping that the whole embarrassing episode would blow over. But the calendar decreed otherwise. By coincidence, the normal two-year span of my passport ended three weeks after my return home. I therefore applied for the usual two-year extension. The fat was again in the fire; the issue could not be totally ducked. But the very next day the following story appeared in the Washington Evening Star:

WORTHY PASSPORT CASE GETS "SOFT PEDAL" BY U.S.

The State Department is playing the William Worthy passport case pianissimo . . . The odds are he will not get (the extension) for a long time, if ever. But Government officials are determined not to oblige him by announcing any formal action. They hope to avoid making his case a cause celèbre. They have said they are taking his application under advisement. It is likely to remain in that status indefinitely.

Winning public opinion

I read this authoritative item into the records of the Senate Sub-committee hearing. My testimony made blatant stalling no longer feasible at that stage. Finally the State Department announced the "final rejection" less than a week after my attorney, Wm. M. Kunstler, told Mr. Dulles that we were about to ask the Federal District Court to order him to render a decision.

The last administrative step legally required before we can take the case into the courts is the forthcoming appeal to the Board of Passport Appeals—also a State Department agency.

Inasmuch as last June the Supreme Court put the country back on the libertarian track and checked police-state practices in the sweeping Jencks and Smith Act (sedition) cases, every lawyer with whom I have spoken rates highly our chances of an eventual judicial triumph a year or two hence.

Meanwhile, we now appear to have won the battle in the court of public opinion. From now on, our independent judiciary will be ruling on the merits of the case.

Smears that didn't stick

At the Passport Office hearing an attempt was made to show that I was "illegally" encouraging others to defy the China travel ban. What in fact I had said in several lectures around the country was, for example, that I would like to see a delegation of US Quakers, universally trusted, reestablish contact with Chinese church groups.

The Government is well aware of the public relations battle. Four days after my testimony before the Senate Sub-committee, the acting State Department Security and Consular chief, Robert Cartwright, told the same Senators that "a William Worthy" (1) had been a World War II draft-dodger; (2) had pleaded guilty in Federal Court in Philadelphia in 1944; (3) had served one day in jail; (4) had then gone to a conscientious objectors' camp.

Even before a pack of reporters descended on me two hours later at a Chinese lecture, the Associated Press had checked the court records in Philadelphia and put bulletins on the Press wires refuting all four points.

Senator Joseph O'Mahoney (Democrat, Wyoming), a member of the Sub-committee on Constitutional Rights, promptly accused the State Department of "raising a side issue to divert attention from the basic issue.

"That issue," he continued, "is whether the Amercian Press is entitled to send its accredited representatives to any area of the world in which the interests of the American people are at stake."

Later, he told Associated Press that "Mr. Worthy's reputation as a citizen is unsullied, and the State Department owes him an apology."

Quaker who wouldn't sign



JIM BRISTOL

As one who, on pacifist and civil liberties issues, is something of an absolutist, I have always found it agonising when confronted with real-life situations where a degree of compromise is indicated. Such at the moment is the case with the non-Communist affidavit that the Board of Passport Appeals has the option of requiring before entertaining one's appeal. Such affidavits are personally offensive and, needless to add, singularly ineffectual in catching any true Communists.

But I have accepted the ACLU's advice to sign such an affidavit (under protest) if I am asked, in order not to confuse the issue of the right to travel. Happily, however, within the past month, James Bristol, of the American Friends' Service Committee, received a new passport (for which such affidavits are also required) after refusing for months to sign one.

The case reached the ludicrous stage where State Department officials over telephone from Washington practically begged him just to say orally that he was not and never had been a Communist. When he would not compromise they issued a passport anyway rather than risk a court test of this purely arbitrary regulation. But in light of the circumstances of my case—i.e., the right to travel to a forbidden Communist country—a sense of public relations dictates that I sign the non-Communist affidavit and fight only the one battle at this time.

US Press defending itself

But if the Star Chamber tactics of officialdom have been depressing—and all reporters are excluded from Passport Office hearings—Press and public reaction has steadily bolstered my spirit.

I do feel strongly that responsible Press representatives, in their own interest of avoiding even indirect government control, should have taken some direct action to defy and void the China travel ban.

But about their feelings there is no question. In editorial after editorial all over the country, editors and publishers have constantly refused to accept the new State Department concept of the Press as an instrument of Mr. Dulles' ever-changing foreign policies.

In this, the vast majority of newspapers have supported my position, their own professional interests and the best interests of the American people, who have a right to know whatever is happening anywhere in the world.

Pacifist review banned in France

ROUTES DE PAIX, a pacifist review published in Brussels for circulation in Belgium and France has been prohibited in France following the confiscation of several hundred copies of the August issue.

The reason for this action is the attitude of Routes de Paix on the Algerian situation. The August issue carried a translation of Fenner Brockway's Peace News article, "Africa Struggles for Freedom" (PN, July 12).

As a result of this bar the Committee responsible for Routes de Paix has decided to abandon its publication in favour of a new review which will be published under French control.

That this step will not ensure the new publication against Government interference there is only too much evidence in past suppressive activities of the French Government. It will, however, safeguard the new review against the total prohibition that Routes de Paix has had to face.

Political unrest in Nepal

A NATION-WIDE civil disobedience campaign is planned to begin in Nepal on December 8 to obtain the first general election, which King Mahendra has postponed indefinitely, reports The Times.

The campaign is planned by the Democratic Front, Nepal's largest opposition group. It includes the Nepal National Congress, the Nepal Congress, and the Praja Parishad.

The three parties have formed an action council to direct the movement. They demand the establishment of an independent and impartial commission to prepare for the election.

Motions for the Peace Pledge Union AGM and nominations for officers and nine additional members of council must be received not later than first post on Jan. 31, 1958, and amendments to the agenda by March 31.

Are you on our list?



THE spirit of Christmas is already with us. The shops are reminding you of the number of shopping days before December 25. The Postmaster General has been warning us about the latest date for posting parcels and cards, and also the need of doing up parcels securely and addressing letters clearly.

The Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund wishes to remind you that it has to raise £230 before the end of the year. That is much less than seemed likely at one time and we are indeed grateful to all who have brought us so close to our aim for 1957, and especially to those who have contributed a total of £125 since the broadcast about Dick Sheppard. Two hundred and thirty pounds is well within our reach if every reader who has not already helped will now lend a hand.

The latest date for posting will be December 31, but the sooner the better. Cheques and postal orders should be made out to the Peace Pledge Union and crossed, and it is well to keep the counterfoil of postal orders until their receipt is acknowledged. Notes should be put into registered envelopes for safety whether they are £5, £1 or 10s. notes. Stamps of any denomination (including the National Savings variety) are always useful and welcome.

Twenty-six posting days till Christmas. It would be grand if we could at least forget the need for raising money on Christmas Day, because Headquarters Fund had by then reached its aim of £1,150. So please put PPU Headquarters Fund down on your list and let us hear from you in good time.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year : £1,150
Amount received to date : £870

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Basil Delaine's Central African Commentary

RUMPUS: WHITE FEARS OVER AFRICAN SKILL

OH, WHAT A RUMPUS! The trouble is that the African is showing that in certain industries he is as good as the white man. This is happening today, particularly in the building industry.

The white Rhodesian artisan, pampered for years, had his first scare when Portuguese and Italian workers were brought into the Federation.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Der Swart found that Mr. Da Silva and Mr. Bernardo were no mugs when it came to railway work, engineering, cabinet making, plastering and so on.

And what aggravated Mr. Smith and Mr. Der Swart was that some employers seemed to favour the Portuguese and Italian worker—because they worked hard and never took four or five days off each month to hit the bottle.

European bricklayers

This year there have been many statements made to the Press by employers, praising the competence and sense of responsibility of those immigrants from Europe—and criticising the bad habits of some Rhodesian workers.

So you can imagine the feeling among these pukkha sahibs of the proletariat at the news that 23 *African* bricklayers in Bulawayo are doing the work of white men.

This is the first time in this city that an African labour force has been used on a big (£140,000) project.

A spokesman for the European company employing them is reported to have said: "The results have quite justified our hopes.

"As the Africans have proved their merit we have been able to reduce the number of Europeans until those now on the job are foremen."

The African bricklayers—who took over from white men—are earning 4s. an hour. In Northern Rhodesia, for less exacting bricklaying work, they get 1s. 2d. an hour.

The European bricklayer in Southern Rhodesia is paid 7s. 5½d. an hour—3s. 5½d. more than the African doing the same work.

Many European bricklayers are angry about this African advancement. And some of them put forward a very sound argument.

They say that they do not mind seeing the African progress, providing when they reach a certain standard they get equal pay for equal work.

But other white men—mainly those brought up in South Africa and Rhodesia, though British immigrants are by no means entirely blameless—condemn the development on account of colour alone.

There is no doubt that the Southern Rhodesia building industry is entering a new phase—a phase shared by the engineering industry.

White man's attitude

The stage has now been reached where the employment of the African has become economical.

He will now have to fight the exploitation that already is menacing his further economic advancement.

To what extent is the advancing African a "threat" to the white industrial worker?

I believe much depends on the attitude of the white man.

If he is really skilled, and if he is prepared to work shoulder to shoulder (and pocket to pocket) with the African artisan, he has many years of usefulness to Rhodesia ahead of him.

But if he is not big enough to accept that a man with a black skin, providing he is skilled, is entitled to work with him at the same wage—he had better pack up and leave the country.

It is significant that most white men who have cried out against African advancement are men whose own workmanship is of a mediocre or low quality. The highly skilled man seems to be less worried.

Interviewed by The Chronicle (a Southern Rhodesia daily) a white building foreman said:

"It has to come. The country cannot go on carrying the African. No European tradesman who does his job properly need be afraid of the African."

The general foreman of another building firm in Bulawayo said the white artisan had brought it on himself if he were going to be pushed out of the industry.

But the bitterness of the majority of European bricklayers was summed up by one man like this:

"The next thing we shall have is Africans moving into the European (residential) areas and charging 4s. for their inferior work.

"When they have managed to push all the European bricklayers out, then their charge will go to 6s. an hour—for exactly the same inferior work. That's what is happening."

New Zealand: new moves against death penalty

PLANS for a general referendum in New Zealand on capital punishment have been unexpectedly dropped, the Government announcing that if it is returned to power in the elections on Nov. 30 it will introduce legislation "providing for capital punishment in the worst cases of murder only."

The main reason for this more liberal move by the same Government which reintroduced capital punishment in 1950 after New Zealand had abolished the death penalty since 1941, is thought to be the recent change of Premiership. Mr. K. J. Holyoak succeeding Mr. S. G. Holland.

Abolitionists who were opposed to a referendum because they expected an adverse result played no small part in this change of Government policy.

"Our task is now to keep the pendulum swinging towards complete abolition," says the Rev. K. R. McCrostie, whose article on the referendum appeared in Peace News, Oct. 11. "A suggestion has been made that we prepare a factual brochure which will be supplied to MPs and to others who bear some influence upon them."

Remember the 9—year prisoner on Dec. 1

From ARLO TATUM
Secretary, War Resisters' International

WHO, you may ask, is Edmond Schaguené?

Edmond is a Frenchman on the youthful side of 30, but in body he's old and enfeebled. He is involved in what may well be a life-or-death struggle with the Government of France.

It was on a sunny day in May, 1949, when Edmund Schaguené was first thrust into a shadowy French prison for refusing compulsory military service. By last Monday, November 18, Edmond had been in prison eight years and six months. Only his determination not to be a soldier remains unaffected by this barbarous treatment, meted out by his Government.

When will it end? Edmond has about 10 more years of imprisonment to face, unless the Government shows mercy in the form of common sense.

Edmond Schaguené is one of the men whose name and prison address appears on the Honour Roll of imprisoned war resisters, to be published in Peace News next week. You are asked to send a Christmas greeting to Edmond, and to as many others as you can afford, on "Prisoners for Peace Day", December 1.

LONDON MARCH

News from the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Austria, South Africa and the USA, as well as from other parts of the globe, indicate that this year's Prisoners for Peace Day will be observed far more widely than last.

The Swedish section of the War Resisters' International is arranging to have every Swedish newspaper circularised by letter. The Danish section have asked for time on the radio.

In Britain there will be a march through central London (starting at Dick Sheppard House) on the evening of December 1. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has urged mention of the day in church sermons, and groups of the Peace Pledge Union, FoR and the Society of Friends have planned special activities throughout Britain.

Individual readers of Peace News in every country are urged to write letters to their local Press, to send greetings to the imprisoned (only the name and address of the sender can appear on the card; no messages), and to participate in the local activities which express our solidarity with our imprisoned fellow war resisters.



Pacifists demonstrating in Washington, USA, on Prisoners for Peace Day, last year.

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RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

A word to the wise

Truth is independent of authority. The laws of gravity are independent of Newton. The truths of life stand without the miraculous claims of the Church.

All readers of Peace News can verify for themselves the fundamental claims of Christ. He taught one thing which was new—just one—a new commandment—that ye love one another. He claimed that unless we build on this rock we cannot build at all. You can prove this both from the pages of history and from the deepest experiences of your own life.

We advocate, therefore, a pacifist church, not because it is the "last word", but because it is the first word.

We believe that there is room for a Christian community which puts these "first things first", and is prepared to relegate to a secondary place the nations, doctrines and creeds which have too long passed for the essence of Christianity.

Literature from:

Wallace Hancock. Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ
8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex

Tunisia's arms

THE Tunisian people are in sympathy with the Algerian "rebels" in their conflict with the French Government It would be surprising, not to say unseemly, if they were not. The Algerians are seeking to attain the same freedom that the Tunisian people were struggling to reach until the beginning of last year and whatever M. Mollet or M. Gaillard may say about Algerians being Frenchmen and their country being part of metropolitan France, this carries much less conviction in North Africa than it does in the French Assembly.

Consequently, the French Government has reasons for complaint against Tunisia. Hard-pressed Algerian rebels flee over the frontier into Tunisia. There, according to international conventions, they should be interned until the end of hostilities. Instead, many of them get back into Algeria recuperated and ready to fight again, while the French claim they may also be rearmed.

The attitude of the Tunisian Government, although one may call it pro-Algerian in the immediate struggle, is also pro-French in the sense that it desires to maintain a French connection. Indeed, if it had not been for the "act of piracy," when five Algerian leaders were captured by the French while airborne from Morocco to Tunisia last year, the Tunisian Government might possibly have been able to help in an initiative to bring peace.

The Tunisian Government, unfortunately believing like practically every other Government that it requires military weapons, asked the French Government to supply them. The French agreed to do so on condition that no Tunisian arms would be transferred to Algeria, and that Tunisia should not seek arms from any other quarter. The Tunisian Government declined on the ground that the conditions were an unwarranted interference with her independence. This put America in a quandary: Tunisia, an important area from the standpoint of its "defence" policy, might seek to get Russian arms through Egypt or even direct. The USA therefore rushed a small quantity of arms into Tunisia, and the British for some reason have felt that it was up to them to do so also.

France has consequently staged a walk-out in dudgeon of her representatives at the NATO Parliamentary Conference.

It is now likely that a special NATO meeting will be proposed before the December "summit" meeting in order to discuss the whole North African situation; and as, despite its present outburst, the French Government will not be able to continue an Algerian war without US financial aid, this meeting is likely to take place.

If this results in bringing some outside views into the consciousness of the French Government on the Algerian question—even the views of the British Tory Government and of Messrs. Dulles and Eisenhower—it may have some useful results. It is hardly possible that it can make the situation worse.

Education panic

ONE consequence of the frenzy over the Sputniks is a deplorable shifting of educational objectives not only in the United States but also in Britain.

The Press is sprinkled with "letters to the Editor" drawing the moral, pointing out the extent to which the intensive Russian educational developments have been directed on the lines of technical instruction and research. Both Britain and the USA, we are told, must do likewise.

Quite apart from the military ends to which all this activity is to be directed, and the assumption that we must more and more fiercely pursue an armaments race in the scientific field until our destruction brings the competition to an end, we believe this heavy emphasis on the need for more and more technical education is undesirable.

That Russia, seeking to put through an industrial revolution which occurred last century in Britain and the USA, should be particularly concerned about the multiplication of technicians is understandable.

The primary need for the West, however, is something quite different.

The central objective of the educational system to-day—right through from the universities to the primary schools—should be related not so much to the creation of the means of living, but to the question of how to live, or, better still, how to enjoy life.

Apart from the fact that a greater proportion of married women are to-day engaged in industry, leisure has increased, and for all too many it has produced the kind of emptiness that can only be filled by what is presented on the television screen.

What is needed in education to-day is more imaginative instruction on the use of leisure in the enjoyment of the world's rich cultural heritage and in the moral values that make a good society.

Soothing words

IN the event of a Russian attack NATO forces will use nuclear weapons even if the Russians operate only with conventional weapons. If it is plain to everyone that we will fight if Russia attacks, "I am confident," says NATO's General Norstad, "that we shall never have to use any of our weapons. NATO's basic strategy is to prevent war."

A letter in which these considerations were urged by General Norstad was sent to Heinz Kraschutzki last May. The correspondence is referred to on page eight.

Since then Russia has demonstrated the extent of her development in "missiles." Not only the population of West Berlin, but that of all the other cities near the great NATO bases have not the smallest chance of survival in a new European war.

In May, General Norstad was speaking in ignorance of the newest Russian developments. To-day it is Mr. Khrushchov who takes up the tune—precisely the same tune. Listen to him, speaking in a United Press interview a few days ago:

> "A war psychosis has been artificially created, in particular by Mr. Dulles. But they will not succeed in making war. The relation of forces is against them. Even Mr. Dulles knows it and he is afraid to carry his policy to the brink of war. . . . In any case, the Soviet Union will never unleash war."

We wonder if General Norstad feels reassured, in hearing his soothing words, based on the same considerations in reverse coming from the other side? If not, why should he expect Russia to accept the assurances he was ready to give last May? And why should he expect Mr. Kraschutzki to be reassured?

Struggle in China

SINCE we commented last week on M. Faure's visit to China an interesting letter has reached us from Professor Lo Meng-Tze, Chairman of the Chu Lieu (Main Current) Society of China, an anti-Communist group that operates from Hong Kong.

Professor Lo Meng-Tze says that if the "hundred flowers" policy had been permitted to continue it would have brought to an end the condition of war that exists between the Peking Government and the people of China; it would have "established a new China in peace which would make her appearance in the family of nations of the world."

There are powerful Stalinist (Professor Lo Meng-Tze calls them "rightist") elements in the Chinese Communist Party, and these were able to destroy the new policy of liberalisation, although "they have not yet used their cruel weapons of military power, police force, special service men or prison cell."

He claims that this struggle is still going on inside and outside the Communist Party; on the one side are "the Chinese people, the intellectual class, non-Communist Parties and the truly progressive elements in the Communist Party, and even Mao Tse-tung himself; on the other side are those Chinese Reds, who are most conservative, most reactionary and most short-sighted and most selfish persons known as the real rightist elements of the Communist Party."

C.O. figures

IN the first six month of 1957, 24 more direct applications were heard by Local Conscientious Objector Tribunals than in the corresponding period of 1956. In addition there were eight more references back to Local Tribunals for variation of the condition of registration as a C.O. The Minister has power to refer a person back to the Tribunal for this purpose, providing he is satisfied that the CO had a "reasonable excuse" for not complying with the original condition.

The next registration day for those born between January 1 and March 31, 1939, is likely to be in mid-January, 1958. Not until some little while after this will it be known whether there has been a rise in the proportion of COs as the above figures suggest.

Quote

"**If we stand** by our decision to manufacture the H-bomb our children will pay for it. It is they who will go naked, not our statesmen. If we decide to abandon its production the social and educational progress we all desire becomes a possibility. The resources that feed the bomb can be used to nourish the child."—Mr. John Rankin, M.P., delivering the fifth Margaret McMillan memorial lecture, Nov. 14, 1957.

IN PERSPECTIVE

MEETING THE TOTALITARIAN LIE

"IS IT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY in the struggle which divides the world today to agree to overlook what is bad on one side in order to fight what is worse on the other?"

This supremely important question was put to M. Albert Camus by M. Bloch-Michael in an interview for London's Sunday "Observer".

M. Camus gave no direct reply, but remarked:

"Richard Hilary, before he died in action during the last war, coined a phrase which expresses and sums up this dilemma: 'We are fighting a lie in the name of a half-truth.'"

M. Camus went on to say that "it may be necessary to fight a lie in the name of a quarter-truth . . . The quarter-truth which Western society contains is called liberty. And liberty provides the road, and the only road, towards progress."

★ ★

WE ARE LEFT TO ASSUME that the answer to the question is: Yes. We have to agree to overlook the bad on one side in order to fight what is worse on the other.

We believe that such an attitude today is tragically wrong.

The Hilary statement in answer to the question is today misleading, for by "fighting" Hilary meant war—not "cold war". In war, the bad on one side is inevitably ignored "for the duration" in order not to hamper victory. If we "are fighting a lie in the name of a half-truth" we are lucky if, at the end of the fight, the half-truth remains even a half-truth.

M. Camus does not mean, we presume, that we shall have to fight for our quarter-truth, as Hilary did, in another world war, for thus we would be destroying lies and truths together in the universal destruction.

★ ★

IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, M. Camus is speaking of the struggle under present conditions to defend the values he prizes, we believe that there could not be a more disastrous fallacy than the idea that we should overlook what is bad on one side in order to fight what is worse on the other.

Allowing for their different assessment of what is "bad" and what is "worse", that has been the attitude of the Communists, and (perhaps even more so) of the crypto-Communists and fellow-travellers. That has also, more than any other factor, prevented the West from getting a true understanding of the conditions and problems of Russia and China.

Overlooking the bad in this "free world" of ours means overlooking the peculiar foulness of the Portuguese regime, the dictatorship of Spain, the harsh repudiation of elementary human rights by the South African Government, and the abominations committed by the French in order to avert democracy in Algeria.

★ ★

IF WE CLOSE OUR EYES to these, we forfeit our right to condemn totalitarianism. And what we say will, inevitably, be discounted and ignored—just as we have learned to discount and ignore the pronouncements of Communists and their fellow-travellers.

EVEN WORSE, IF WE CLOSE OUR EYES TO THESE, WE SHALL BE TAKING THE ROAD THAT WILL LEAD TO THE LOSS OF THE VERY VALUES WE CLAIM TO PRIZE.

A very wise word, we believe, was said on this subject by Mr. George Kennan in his first Reith lecture:

"To my own countrymen who have often asked me where best to apply the hand to counter the Soviet threat, I have accordingly had to reply: to our American failings—to the things we are ashamed of in our own eyes: to the racial problem, to the conditions in our big cities, to the problems of education and environment for our young people, to the prevalence of crime and corruption. I imagine that similar answers could be found for the other Western countries."

THE WEAPON WITH WHICH TO DEFEAT THE TOTALITARIAN LIE IS TOTAL TRUTH.

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King-Hall lecture

IN Commander King-Hall's United Services speech (PN, Oct. 25) there is an over-simplification—a common one, but such an important statement deserves to be based more solidly.

Behind the apparent conflict "to decide whether the democratic or Communist way of life shall prevail universally," are there not significant strains and challenges caused by three problems of readjustment?

1. Can the peoples and governments of Western Europe (in particular, those of Great Britain) climb down from the habits ingrained by generations of political and economic advantage?
2. Can the autocratic government of Russia climb down from the saddle in which it was set by the necessities of revolution and kept too long by external and internal danger? (This begs the question whether it wants to "climb down"; if you disagree I would abandon my rhetorical pattern and say "Can a counter-revolution take place smoothly when the time is ripe?)
3. Can the United States of America, into whose unready hands too great power fell, half a generation ago now, climb down from the slippery pedestal on which it has been placed by economic history and its own ideals?

Historical parallels could be cited for each of these crises of national development, but it is perhaps more important to note that the problems are seen in these terms by some both inside and outside the countries concerned. Once you look for the attitudes you will find your own examples—especially if you read PN—but also in the most unlikely places. For instance, the President of American Motors Corporation, Detroit, Mr. Geo. Romney, speaking to an Empire Club luncheon meeting that was broadcast by CBC on Oct. 31, 1957, expressed the hope that smaller countries such as Canada would take over some of the excessive responsibility resting on the USA.

As for Western Europe, Commander King-Hall has put his finger on the spot by calling "1918—?" "the period of Disinvestment." Would he accept an amendment to his definition of the object of war? (one that seems to be implied in his questions as to "What are we defending?") May we say: "The object of war is to substitute an acceptable equilibrium for an unendurable pressure" and the purpose of the Battle of Brains is (or should be) to eliminate on both sides the strains that make us jostle each other. Stand aside (if unable to help) from those climbing down!

This modification seems to me to support and strengthen all the other good things in this speech and the original proposal. If we emphasise too much that "they" must be made to change their minds, we may miss the sincerity of conviction about our own ideals that will be required for the unarmed "war."—**MARY C. NEEDLER, 27, Dalton Rd., Toronto, Ont., Canada.**

I AM not quite sure what Commander King-Hall is brewing up, but if it involves the offering of satyagraha by the occupants of, say, the Carlton Club, to Marshal Whatisit from Moscow, it won't happen.

Letters to the Editor

It never seems to occur to the Commander that a lot of people don't give a damn for our "way of life"—a mysterious phrase involving everything from fish and chips to Edith Sitwell and Siegfried Sassoon—and would be much more likely to collaborate with Whatisit.

I dig Commander K.H., however. He is doing his best.—**RHODA CLARKE, Brixham.**

Prisoners for Peace Day

SOME pacifists have felt that the sending of cards on Prisoners for Peace Day is not enough, and last year members of the Pacifist Youth Action Group spent the day in fast. This year Alton PPU Group hope to do the same. We are planning to meet at Hillcrest, Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants, on Dec. 1 and to spend the day sending out Christmas cards, discussing and meditating.

We are only a small group, and therefore would be especially pleased if anyone else would join us. We would particularly welcome any local pacifists whom we do not already know as this is such a suitable opportunity to meet. Also Alton is only 80 minutes from Waterloo, which would make a nice trip for a Londoner (cheap day tickets available). Friends will be welcome even if they can only manage part of the day. Activities will start at 9.0 a.m. and last 12 hours. We would be grateful for advance notice of your visit because of ordering Christmas cards.

We suggest that those in sympathy with us who cannot come along also fast that day and perhaps send us a letter telling us of their intention so that we get a greater feeling of solidarity.—**PHOEBE BERROW, Hillcrest, Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants.**

AFRICA IN CRISIS

By Fenner Brockway MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ONCE more, Africa in crisis. Lenin and Trotsky propounded the theory of The Permanent Revolution. Africa is in a condition of Permanent Crisis and will remain so until its peoples enjoy self-government, equality with the white races, and the economic opportunity to live a full human life.

The crisis this week is urgent in North Africa, East Africa and Central Africa. West Africa, with confident self-reliance, proceeds towards independence and equality, but even there issues constantly arise which reflect the deeper crisis of the whole continent.

The North African crisis has spread to the Western Powers. Tunisia wants arms to maintain order and for self-defence. France refused them. Tunisia then requested America and Britain to supply arms, hinting that a similar request would be made to Russia if Washington and London refused.

Algeria

Washington and London are so fearful of the extension of Russian influence from the Middle East to North Africa that they have agreed to meet the Tunisian request. The consequence is that the French Government is now complaining of this breach of Atlantic solidarity and is remarking ironically that Britain's difficulties in Cyprus ought to have made her sympathetic with French difficulties in Algeria.

Algeria is of course the problem. The Tunisian people and their government are sympathetic to the Algerian claim for independence. They promise that the American and British arms shall not be passed to the Algerian rebels. But France is uneasy. The truth is that all the problems of France, her internal economic tensions, her instability of Government, her relations with self-governing Morocco and Tunisia, and her alliance with America and Britain, are bound up with the futile effort to deny Algeria her independence. This is an illustration of how to-day the colonial problem is at the heart of all other problems.

There is a new crisis in Kenya. The British Colonial Secretary failed, as I anticipated he would, to bring about an agreement between the racial groups in the Legislative Council regarding constitutional changes. He therefore imposed a decision on them. The African representatives have rejected Mr. Lennox-Boyd's scheme and the deadlock persists.

In the House of Commons the Colonial Secretary referred to his proposals as "a settlement," but that is the last thing they are. He expressed confidence that they would come to be appreciated, but the African Group is no longer of this malleable character.

They have already gained a great victory in destroying the previous Lyttelton Constitution, and they will not accept a compromise which withholds from them the promise of final democracy.

The Lennox-Boyd scheme is intended to last ten years. Unless there is to be continuing and growing conflict with the African population and their representatives, it will have to be revised within one year.

It will be remembered that the Africans asked their representation in the Legislature should be increased from 8 members to 23 members. This would have given them the same number of seats as the minority races. As there are 5,800,000 Africans against 238,000 Europeans, Asians and Arabs combined, this does not seem to be an extravagant demand. Under Mr. Lennox-Boyd's proposals they would have six additional elected members, and this would be supplemented by 12 new seats, four European, four Asian, and four African, to be filled by a vote of the present Legislative Council members. The net increase of the Africans, therefore, compared with the minority races, would be only two.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd has made the further suggestion that a Council of State should be created which will have the power to delay, or revise, measures passed in the Legislative Council whenever it considers this to be necessary in order to protect any racial group against discriminatory legislation. This new body has been proposed to reassure the European minority who are disturbed by even the small increase in African representation which has been permitted. But the necessity for such a body is not clear.

Kenya

The British Governor-General and the Colonial Secretary have the power already to veto any legislation of which they disapprove either for discriminatory or other reasons. The Africans take the view not unreasonably that advantage is being taken of the present difficulties to foist upon them a House of Lords.

In the background of the African objection is the failure of the British Government to give any indication that its final objective is a democratic Kenya in which there will be a common electoral roll including all men and women irrespective of race or colour. That is the African aim, though they are ready to accept much less during a transition period. They will only accept less, however, if this goal is accepted.

In these circumstances, one must anticipate a continued refusal of the African representatives to participate in the Government of Kenya. They will no doubt welcome additional representatives in the Legislative Council, but if the Governor wishes to have Africans in his Executive Council he will have to nominate them and they will be regarded as stooges by the African population.

Unless Mr. Lennox-Boyd has second thoughts, racial antagonism will grow in Kenya. The hopes that after the defeat of Mau Mau inter-racial co-operation would develop will disappear and a period of unhappy frustration will follow.

The third immediate crisis is in Central Africa. The Federal Government there has passed a Constitution Amendment Bill allied to new franchise proposals which would only allow Africans to elect one-third of the Legislature. The British Government has rejected a protest from the African Affairs Board, composed of selected members of the Legislature, whose duty it is to draw attention to discriminatory legislation.

Notice of an Order in Council has been given to the House of Commons endorsing the Federal Government's Bill, which will now become law unless the British Parliament adopts a "Prayer" to the contrary within 40 days. I am glad to say that the Labour Party has decided to table such a Prayer, and before the end of this month the issue will be raised in a debate which promises to be strenuous.

Central Africa

An all-Party Parliamentary delegation has just returned from Central Africa. It is very significant that its Conservative members as well as those of the Labour Party have rejected the claim of Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, for Dominion Status under white domination in 1960.

The situation in Central Africa is much more serious than the British people yet realise.

The intensity of feeling among Africans in Nyasaland and scarcely less so in Northern Rhodesia is frightening. I have even heard the phrase used that Central Africa will become "another Algeria" unless the Europeans there and the Government in London do more to recognise the claim of the African people for equality.

A word about developments in Ghana. The Bill which Dr. Nkrumah's government has introduced amending the circumstances under which Emergency Powers can be adopted has confounded the critics who so readily said that Ghana was becoming a dictatorship.

The Bill introduces safeguards which did not exist in the previous legislation for which Britain was responsible and which do not exist in any British colony administered by Britain now.

The new legislation insists that the Ghana Parliament must be summoned within ten days in the event of a declaration of a national emergency, says that it must be consulted in the event even of any local or limited emergency, and denies the Government any power to suspend the Constitution or to postpone an election.

Some of us will enjoy asking the British Government if it will introduce similar safeguards in Kenya, Central Africa, and the other colonies for which Britain still has responsibility.

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION
Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday November 24
Friends' International Centre
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
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FREEDOM IN GOMULKA'S POLAND

Controversy—but Communism still rules

By PETER BROCK

Peter Brock, a lecturer in history at the University of Toronto, Canada, discussed last week some of his impressions after a recent two months' return visit to Poland, where he lived from 1946 *to* 1950. *This is the second in this series of articles which will be concluded next week.*

IT is significant that this summer for the first time Warsaw has been able to commemorate publicly and with official participation the tragic uprising which took place in 1944.

Polish opinion is divided in its assessment of the uprising and the Government has been careful not to appear to give approval to the policies behind it. But most Warsaw families lost at least one member in it, and the previous wholesale condemnation and the prohibition of any public honouring of the dead was bitterly resented.

Refreshing to one who remembers conditions a few years back is the absence of publicly displayed political slogans. These, inscribed on banners hung across the streets or painted in huge letters on prominent buildings, used to face one wherever one went. The compulsory attendance of employees at political meetings and demonstrations and at classes in Marxism-Leninism has also been done away with. Propaganda, I noticed, is now on the whole conducted circumspectly and with due emphasis on the difficulties involved in the present situation. This indeed comes out clearly in all Gomulka's speeches.

★

SINCE "October," Poland has enjoyed a wide measure of cultural freedom. One has only, for instance, to compare the type of books published a few years ago with publishers' lists today. Most of the leading contemporary writers in the West, whose names could be mentioned only if coupled with an opprobrious phrase like "decadent", "imperialist renegade", etc., are being published—and eagerly read.

The theatres play Anouilh, Sartre and Beckett (as well as Agatha Christie!) instead of dull social realist dramas translated from the Russian. (Regrettably, even Chekhov seems to have suffered from the revulsion against everything imposed from the East.) Press reports on the world situation are infinitely more impartial than formerly, and more space is now given to non-political items.

Lively literary and artistic controversies are waged in the numerous intellectual weeklies and monthlies. Intimate revues and cabarets in the main cities—their very existence something of a revolution—satirise contemporary life and even poke fun at politics and politicians.

SECRET POLICE

Perhaps more important for the man in the street than freedom of the Press or of cultural life has been the disbandment of the hated security police (UB). This was accompanied by the release of political prisoners, who may now claim the annulment of their sentence and compensation for wrongful imprisonment, and by the restoration of the rule of law in most sectors of public life.

Over 10,000 persons have been dismissed from the security police (the total numbers employed have not so far been published), and the problem of finding new employment for so many persons untrained to gain a living by normal work has presented some difficulties. Undoubtedly some kind of security service of the nature of our MI5 or the American FBI has been retained. But—and this is the crux of the matter—it does not possess powers of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.

Since "October", too, the numbers of people travelling to the West has greatly increased. But apart from political motives (and a few people are still refused passports on political grounds) there is one major consideration which makes it difficult for the Government to grant all the requests for passports. This is the country's shortage of foreign currency in which beyond the Polish frontiers everything, including the tickets, must be bought. (There have indeed been complaints from the authorities that "especially in the summer season" the number of official delegations to the warmer and more attractive spots in the West greatly increase!) Permission for private visits abroad have, therefore, been limited to those made to near relatives, unless the host is willing to pay full costs of travel.

★

DESPITE the very real liberalisation that has taken place since "October", the Government of Poland remains a Communist one. Indeed it is improbable that the Russians would have tolerated Gomulka if he had not been a Communist; while if he had not at the same time been a victim of Communism, that is, of Stalinism, it is equally unlikely that the Polish people would have given him their confidence. There are, it is true, two non-Communist parties, the Peasants and the Democrats, represented in both Government and Parliament (Sejm). But these have long ago been purged of all those leaders who were ready to show independence of the Communists.

There are some signs, however, even here, of renewed life. The rank and file members are asserting themselves; several prominent members of the Peasant Party who had withdrawn from political life have rejoined their party; and there seem to be efforts to hammer out a genuinely independent political programme. Nor is the Parliament a rubber stamp, merely content to register its approval of Government measures. It is now the scene of sometimes fierce argument and controversy. A real attempt is being made to exercise parliamentary control over Government policy.

★

MEANWHILE it is not to parliamentary parties but to non-political organisations and groups that the vast majority of the people look to express their aspirations. Above all there is the Roman Catholic Church. (Protestants number less than five per cent of the population—though of course a large number of Catholics are not practising ones.) In Parliament there are a small number of avowedly Catholic deputies, but as an organised body Catholicism is not represented. However, it was the active support of Cardinal Wyszynski that gave Gomulka his overwhelming victory at the elections last January; and the Cardinal has continued to preach political restraint and the avoidance of any action which might lead to disturbances and foreign intervention, to a populace only too prone, as its recent history has shown, to break out into some rash act of defiance.

The Church functions freely today in Poland. Religious instruction has been restored in the schools, and parents not wishing their children to attend have to opt out specially. This has even led to complaints from the small group of free-thinkers, as well as from many party militants, that Gomulka has granted the Church too privileged a position.

THE CHURCH

What are the chances of Poland returning to a multi-party system? I brought this point up many times in conversation with non-Communist friends. No one thought this possible in the present situation. (It must not be forgotten that, although their numbers and location are now strictly defined by treaty, there are still Soviet troops on Polish soil as well as to the East and West of her frontiers.) Both Khrushchov and Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish primate, can agree, even if reluctantly, to live with Gomulka in power. But in an election where all shades of political opinion were perfectly free to put up candidates, it is not unlikely that the victor would be some kind of clericalist party of the right—and the final result a second Hungary. It is such considerations that make even the staunchest democrat feel that a return to a multi-party system would be inexpedient in the present circumstances.

Nevertheless the feeling that, for the time being at any rate, Poland has come to a full stop in the purely political field gives rise inevitably, especially after the high hopes aroused in "October", to a feeling of intense frustration among many.

To be continued

THE MYSTERY OF NYE BEVAN

By Leslie Hale, MP

This is the first of a series of articles by the Labour MP for Oldham West. British readers will recall that Leslie Hale, who joined Peace News board this year, gave the "Straight from Conference" reports for the BBC jointly with Conservative MP, Charles Fletcher-Cooke.

AT the Labour Party Conference at Brighton the principle topic of conversation was Mr. Bevan and the bomb.

Mr. Bevan had for long expressed himself in favour of, at least, a unilateral renunciation, for a period, of test explosions.

He had been understood to go further, when in India, and declare himself in favour of unilateral renunciation of manufacture: but, before the Conference opened, rumours circulated to the effect that he had abandoned that attitude.

Confirmation seemed to come from the fact that few of his most intimate friends seem to have had an opportunity of discussing the matter with him.

The Sunday Express later declared that Mr. Bevan had spoken in favour of not manufacturing the bomb on Thursday and had altered his mind by Sunday after discussions with Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Sam Watson.

This part of the Express statement seems likely to be true.

Mr. Gaitskell, it is said, pointed out the difficulty and danger of further major splits within the party.

From his standpoint, Mr. Gaitskell was thoroughly justified in doing this. He had behaved since his election as leader with notable generosity to Mr. Bevan, giving him first the responsibility for Colonial Affairs and later for Foreign Affairs, a notable gesture since it was in this field that most of Mr. Bevan's criticisms of party policy had been made. Nor could Mr. Gaitskell, as Prime Minister, appoint a Foreign Secretary who was in disagreement with party policy on a major issue of foreign affairs.

★

PACIFISTS must understand that this is a major issue.

The renunciation of the use of the bomb by Britain is not a matter which affects Britain alone, though it is clearly competent for us to make the decision.

It alters the whole balance of power in Europe.

It might lead to the break up of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. It clearly imports the necessity of the removal of US troops from Britain.

We cannot, on moral grounds, declare that we will not use the bomb and expect the US forces to do it for us.

Powerful arguments

Nor could we, if we take the calculated risk involved in such a decision, expose our countrymen to the immense additional risk of a bombing attack on this country which the continued presence of the US bomber force would involve.

These are powerful arguments and worthy of careful consideration.

For myself I have considered them carefully and I reject them utterly and I propose, in this series of articles, to say why I do.

To them must be added the empirical point, more difficult to answer, that there is no advantage to a party in opposition in an announcement of this sort, two years in advance of the time when they may anticipate being in a position to form a government. Argument and discussion may continue whilst the situation may alter from day to day.

Mr. Bevan seems to have made three decisions.

The first, to give full support to Mr. Gaitskell, was long overdue. Mr. Gaitskell is the democratically elected leader of the party and is entitled to demand that support.

The second, to abandon for the time being, the idea of renunciation of manufacture, is one which I can understand, if I do not approve. And, even if it be true that there was a rapid change of mind in this matter, I would be the last person to accuse Mr. Bevan of tergiversation for, as I said in my broadcast that evening, his friends have long known that there was a conflict between head and heart on this issue. It is a fine mind and a large heart.

★

WHY Mr. Bevan made his third decision, publicly and provocatively to dissociate himself with so many of his old friends, I do not profess to know.

Had he been content to make, at the Conference, a statesmanlike review of foreign affairs and conclude with a reluctant declaration that the time for renunciation had not yet arrived, he would have carried the Conference most surely and without bitterness.

In the event his argument that the resolution was so lacking in meaning that its passing would be useless and, so pregnant with meaning that it would be destructive, was hardly convincing.

And the reference to emotional spasms came ill from one who has inspired and is capable of inspiring so much genuine emotion.

In these years of controversy he has been able to count greatly upon the loyalty and the affection of his Parliamentary supporters. The most generous and the most likely theory is that in the strain of the decision he wished to preserve a temporary isolation.

Responsibility

Mr. Bevan may well have thought that as British Foreign Secretary he would have a very special contribution to make to world peace, tolerance and understanding. He might well have believed that he, of all Britons, might be charged with the responsibility of avoiding a third world conflict.

If he thinks that, I believe he is right, and recently in the United States he has made more clear the formulation of a distinctive foreign policy. In that task, if he prefers to appeal to our minds rather than to our hearts, he can still count on support.

In the meantime the situation has altered daily.

On the day the Conference ended the Russians launched Sputnik No. 1. No. 2 is already in the air. The Soviet Union has acquired a vast technical advantage in the field of scientific destruction.

The Windscale fall out, the recent reports of increasing Strontium 90 in children's bones are calling wider attention to our increasing perils. It is time for pacifists to draw anew the blueprint of the path to peace in the thermo-nuclear satellite world.

"The War That Should Never Have Happened"—the second article in Leslie Hale's series will appear in the issue of Dec. 6.

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:
1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, November 22

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath Street. Dorothy Matthews will lead discussion on the pamphlet "Unarmed." PPU.

Saturday, November 23

BRISTOL: 3 p.m. to 7 p.m.; Co-operative Hall, Prewett Street, near St. Mary Redcliffe. Conference: Crises in the Middle East. Speaker: W. J. W. Cheesman. Adm. 2s. Apply: Will Parkin, 15 Kenmore Crescent, Bristol 7.

LONDON, E.11: 6.30 p.m. sharp; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Programme of Films: including "Walk to Freedom" (the non-violent struggle of Alabama Negroes). E.10 and E.11 PPU.

ST. IVES: Week-End Conference, Treloyhan Manor. Subject: The Changing Face of the World. Leader: Fred S. Moorhouse, BSc. Chairman: Mrs. G. M. Lloyd-Jones. Secretary: Harold King, 18 Penventon Terrace, Redruth. Devon and Cornwall PPU and FoR.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., 200 High Street. Speaker: Stuart Morris, "Peace and the H-bomb." Swansea Peace Council.

Sunday, November 24

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Square, Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Edith Adlam, "Why I believe in God."

Monday, November 25

MUSWELL HILL: 8.15 p.m.; 144 Muswell Hill Road. Fellowship Party North London Group Meeting.

CARDIFF: Friends' Ho., 43 Charles St. Speaker: Stuart Morris, "The Christian Conscience and the H-bomb." Cardiff Pacifist Group. Secretary: Mabel Gough, Ty Gwyn, Gwaelady Garth, Cardiff.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. Meeting of Shipley PPU Group.

Tuesday, November 26

BRISTOL, 1: 2 p.m.; S.W. Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors. Board Room (Third Floor), Gaunts' House, Denmark Street. Public admitted.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; 23 Church Street, Stretford. Meeting of Central PPU Group.

LONDON, N.22: 8 p.m.; Trinity Grammar School, Bounds Green Road, Wood Green. Protest Meeting against Nuclear Tests. Speakers: Dr. D. G. Arnott, Rev. J. Elias Morgan. Chairman: The Mayor. Wood Green and Southgate NCANWT.

Wednesday, November 27

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m.; Friends House, Euston Road. "Peace Forum." See advert. SJPC.
LONDON: S.E.3: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. Working Against Nuclear Rearming of Germany. Discussion introduced by Ronald Mallone, B.A. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, E.C.2: 1.15 p.m.; St. Margaret's, Lothbury. "Quaker work at the United Nations." Eric S. Tucker, Sec. of the Friends' Peace Committee. National Peace Council.

Friday, November 29

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m.; Wanstead Ho. (Park Room), The Green, Wanstead. Discussion, "Middle East." Opener: John Davis. Chairman: Walter Spradbery. Woodford and District Peace Committee. All welcome.

Saturday, November 30

RUGBY: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Regent Place. Speaker: Sybil Morrison, "Pacifism and the H-bomb." Meeting for all pacifists and sympathisers of the district. Discussion, tea.

Friday, December 6

LONDON, W.2: 7.30 p.m.; 23 Norfolk Square. Speaker: Terence Chivers, "The Work of Peace News." New History Society.

Sunday, December 8

LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho. (behind BBC), Woodhouse Lane. Meeting to discuss formation of Pacifist Youth Action Group. All pacifists welcome. PPU.

Wednesday, December 11

LONDON, W.1: 7.30 p.m.; The Laurie Arms, Crawford Place. "Should we support pacifism or the Socialist Party of Great Britain in order to achieve enduring peace." Terence Chivers and SPGB speakers.

Thursday, December 12

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; Hillcrest, Windmill Hill. Speaker: Terence Chivers, "The Non-Violent Society." Alton PPU.

Thursday, December 19

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.45 p.m.; Trafalgar Square (around the Christmas tree). International carol singing, conducted by Dr. Paul Steinitz. All welcomed London International Choir.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

THE BISHOP PRAISES THE PACIFISTS

"I AM glad to know that your organisation is helping to alert this country to the danger of the H-bomb, not simply to one country but humanity in general. I hope your efforts will be crowned with success."

This was the message sent by the Bishop of Manchester, Dr. Greer, to the Manchester Peace Fellowship on the occasion of a car poster parade on Remembrance Saturday.

Twelve cars, bearing such slogans as "No More War" and "Scrap our bombs now," were driven ten miles, through the heart of the city and out into the suburbs.

"Car poster parades are a new idea in Manchester," Roy Wolstenholme told Peace News. "We hope this opening drive will not be the last time car-owning pacifists and sympathisers will give us their services so generously.

"The posters were successfully attached to the cars. A little triumph due mainly to the good carpentry by a Peace Pledge member, Phillip Smith."

Manchester Peace Fellowship

The Bishop of Manchester won wide support earlier this year for his outspoken declaration that "It would be better to be defeated than to engage in H-bomb warfare, for when the last bomb has exploded you have lost what you were fighting for . . . the H-bomb is not a weapon; it is a plague far worse than the dreaded bubonic plague."

The Manchester Peace Fellowship unites the local activities of members of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League, Young War Resisters, Independent Labour Party and the Society of Friends.

Among other Remembrance week-end activities was a poster march through Stoke Newington, North London, led by former Battle of Britain pilot, John Loverseed. The posters declared that the H-bomb betrayed the memory of those who had given their lives to end war.

NOTEBOOK

A famous sermon

IN next week's "Christmas Book Number," the Rev. Edwin Foley reviews the autobiography of a famous American preacher, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick.

As the notepaper on which I received a recent letter from the-nearly-an-octogenarian Dr. Fosdick shows, he is Minister-Emeritus of that great centre of peace activities in New York, Riverside Church.

It was as minister of Riverside, many years ago now, that he preached his famous Armistice Day sermon, "The Unknown Soldier."

"I have an account to settle in this pulpit today between my soul and the Unknown Soldier," he said.

From the closing words of the sermon "Dick" Sheppard took the words which form the Peace Pledge Union pledge: "I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly, will I sanction or support another."

Monty was too much

AT least one Sunday School rejected the Nov. 17 (Temperance Sunday) "Junior Paper" issued by the Religious Education Press and supplied to Sunday School scholars all over Britain.

A large picture on the front showed a be-ribboned Field-Marshal Montgomery refusing alcoholic drink at a banquet.

"It seems extraordinary to hold him up as a hero to our children," a Junior leader told me.

"The printing of such a photograph would seem to indicate that, whilst total abstinence from drink is to be advocated, the infinitely greater evil of war can be tolerated."

Her "Junior Papers" for the day were scrapped.

Peace News Supplement

SOME readers have expressed their appreciation of the supplement (in the home edition only of Peace News) carrying the story of the film "The Bridge on the River Kwai;" others their disapproval because of the presumed cost of producing four extra pages.

No charge whatsoever fell on Peace News for this. It was entirely covered by advertisement revenue from Columbia Pictures.

Put the Colonies under UN care

From TREVOR WADSWORTH

BRITAIN should straight away place its remaining colonies under the trusteeship of the United Nations, Harold Bing, F.R.Hist.S., said recently.

"We should then have to render an account at the bar of world opinion and should be subject to them for the way we are carrying out our duties. There would then be pressure on the Colonial Office to speed up education in these countries and grant local and national self-government."

Chairman of the War Resisters' International, he was addressing a Peace Pledge Union study conference on the consequences of unilateral disarmament.

One of the arguments against unilateral disarmament, he said, was that it would mean "abandoning the Colonies which in some cases would be overrun by the Russians and the United States."

But the self-governing dominions were already separate members of the United Nations and the total population of Britain's Colonial Empire today was only about 15,000,000, as against the former population of 500,000,000.

We should make it clear that our military withdrawal would not mean the cessation of economic and cultural assistance.

Young technicians, whose jobs in the munitions industry would cease if Britain unilaterally disarmed, could find equally exciting careers in helping the technical and cultural development of the colonial territories.

"Our policy must not be just a negative one of withdrawal, but to give to these people something which is of far more value than the military defence which we claim to have been giving to them in the past," said Mr. Bing.

The Conference, which met at "The Briars," Crich—only a short distance from Crich Stand, the memorial to the men of the Sherwood Foresters killed in the world wars—included PPU members from Notts, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Staffordshire. They re-formed the N. and E. Midlands Council, which will meet quarterly, starting on Nov. 23.

Officers elected were: chairman—George Devereaux of Burton-on-Trent; secretaries—John and Jean Hammond of West Bridgford, Notts; treasurer—Geoffrey Cooper of Little Eaton, Derby. The new Council consists of representatives from Leicester, Burton, Nottingham, Loughborough, Derby, Grantham and Mansfield.

Book reviews will
appear Next Week
in Christmas Book Number

PEOPLE DOING THINGS

Briefly

The question of civil liberties in Singapore was raised with Lord Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, last week, by a deputation from the Movement for Colonial Freedom. They drew attention to the number of persons arrested and detained without trial and urged the Minister to institute an enquiry or trial to enable allegations of assault and electric-shock treatment to be investigated.

The Rev. E. H. Patey, Assistant General Secretary of the British Council of Churches and organiser of their work camps, broadcasts the BBC's "Lift Up Your Hearts" programme each morning next week.

"The Lysistrata," much banned because its theme is the devastatingly effective means adopted by the women of Athens and Sparta to prevent war, will be broadcast on the BBC's Third Programme on Tuesday at 9.5 p.m. This comedy by Aristophanes has seldom been performed in Britain in any form.

CLASSIFIED Advertisements

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min. 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., Londn, N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

ALL FAITHS' SERVICE. Sunday, Nov. 24, 6.30 p.m., at Junction Road, Congregational Church, London, N.19 (Archway Tube). Baroness Ravensdale.

CONWAY DISCUSSIONS. South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Tues., 7.15 p.m., Nov. 26. Richard Clements, OBE, "The Crisis of Loneliness."

S. PLACE ETHICAL SOC. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1. Sun., 11 a.m., Nov. 24. Mrs. Mary Stocks: "Dynamics of the Divorce Problem." Adm. free.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340, Telkea Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT has opened a permanent branch centre in Southfields. Furnished accommodation will be available for people liking quiet ways. Gifts of furniture, etc., will be welcome. Pease write: Secretary, Vedanta Movement, Elsenham Street, London, S.W.18.

FOR SALE

SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS NEED BOOKSTALLS. Suitable selections of books and pamphlets supplied "sale or return" for meetings of all kinds. HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP, the Peace News booksellers, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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LITERATURE

"ALL ABOUT RADIATION" by Nuclear Physicist and Medical Doctor. Describes mental and physical effects of H-bomb Tests, etc., in easily read form. 10s. 8d. Send for list of books on Scientology. C. R. Vosper, 3 Coniston Road, Whitton, Middx.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

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WE CAN HELP YOU. Use these columns to advertise your services, sell your products and seek your needs. Write to the Advertisement Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. *every Wednesday evening* for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

PEACE NEWS

Christmas Cards

are wonderful!

● We have not the space to list this year's exciting range of cards and gifts.

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The proceeds help the work of Peace News

SCIENTISTS ACT

■ FROM PAGE ONE

are signed below, urge that an international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs be made now.

Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations.

So long as these weapons are in the hands of only three powers an agreement for their control is feasible. If testing continues, and the possession of these weapons spreads to additional governments, the danger of outbreak of a cataclysmic nuclear war through the reckless action of some irresponsible national leader will be greatly increased.

An international agreement to stop the testing of nuclear bombs now could serve as a first step toward a more general disarmament and the ultimate effective abolition of nuclear weapons, averting the possibility of a nuclear war that would be a catastrophe to all humanity.

We have in common with our fellowmen a deep concern for the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have knowledge of the dangers involved and therefore a special responsibility to make those dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons.

Scientific workers who wish to identify themselves with this American initiative are invited to send their names to Dr. Comfort at 44, The Avenue, Loughton, Essex, for transmission to Dr. Pauling and his associates. They are asked to identify themselves in writing: only the signatures of scientific workers are requested.

NEXT WEEK

PEACE NEWS next week (a twelve-page Prisoners for Peace Day and Christmas Book Number) will carry the full list of names and addresses of men in prison issued by the War Resisters International.

Extra copies for free distribution may be obtained from Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, at the special rate of 3s. a dozen post free.

Few people realise the suffering involved for French war resisters. Distribute copies of Peace News next week to all who support human rights and the right of conscientious objection, especially to former conscientious objectors who do not see Peace News.

PEACE FORUM

Bring your problems and discuss them with Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Eric Tucker and others. Non-Pacifists welcome.

Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1
6.30 p.m., Wednesday, November 27
(Standing Joint Pacifist Committee)

Saturday, November 23, 7.30 p.m., at Friends' Meeting House, 200 High Street, Swansea.

Stuart Morris on—
"PEACE AND THE H-BOMB"
Swansea Peace Council

PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY
IS DECEMBER 1

Send Christmas cards to the worlds jailed COs

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Christianity and war

★ FROM PAGE ONE

the conclusion must be that no Christian should take part in any war.

"The final contribution came as a distinct anti-climax, couched in terms of expediency which had nothing more challenging to offer than that the Christian should try to ease tensions and limit wars. It was almost as though some hidden voice had whispered 'Do be careful. It won't do for the BBC, even for the religious section, to conclude that Christ taught the renunciation of violence and the practice of non-resistance'—as, of course, He did."

"Who is to judge?"

Canon T. B. Scrutton, chairman of the Anglian Pacifist Fellowship, told Peace News that he thought that though not completely pacifist, this was an excellent broadcast from our point of view. The Bible quotations were remarkably apt and the sub-Christian ones from the Old Testament were suitably answered.

"The final conclusion that peace is sometimes less important than 'righteousness' is vitiated by the absence of a judicial authority to decide what *is* righteousness.

"Every nation is to judge its own cause. But this weak close did not cancel the effect of a striking broadcast, which surely shook many of our more conventional Christians."

Gen. Norstad

□ FROM PAGE ONE

tive wherever they have been seriously applied."

Three weeks later Heinz Kraschutzki received the following reply signed by General Norstad:

"I regret that pressure of work prevented my replying to your thoughtful letters and the logical questions they contained.

"I would emphasise that it is the basic strategy of NATO to prevent war. We can do that only if we are able and willing to fight if attacked. If this is plain to everyone, and particularly to any potential aggressor, then I am confident that we shall never have to use any of our weapons. Personally I am convinced that if we remain strong and firm, as well as calm and patient, we can deter attack and war. . .

"I do not believe that you will find anything like 'aggression from within' in the North Atlantic Treaty. Besides, I believe that you will find that the NATO organisation offers sufficient guarantees against the possibility of our defence machine being set in motion by a mere coincidence or without the certainty that an attack has in fact taken place. . .

"Finally, I would like to tell you how glad I was to receive your inquiry. I believe that only with the appreciation and interest of people like you shall we continue to enjoy the public support which is so vital for the success of NATO."

Heinz Kraschutzki, a captain in the Kaiser's Navy, escaped from Germany to Spain after exposing his country's rearmament. He was gaoled by General Franco for nine years, being released in 1945.

PEACE NEWS HOUR

A PROFIT of £90, the opportunity to meet old and new friends, and to see the film about non-violent resistance made by American pacifists, "Walk to Freedom," this was the fruit of much hard work by Peace News supporters gathered at our Bazaar, opened by Stuart Morris in Holborn Hall last Saturday.

Many "Peace News Hours" had gone into the preparations, and we thank all those many friends who either came in person or sent us gifts for the occasion.

A number of other London peace activities on the same day—Hallelujah!—did not seriously reduce the attendance, but if any of our readers who were not there would like to make that £90 up to £100 . . . well, our address is 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Next week I want to tell you about the man who, with his wife, has sold 7,000 Peace News over the last seven years (and they run a small holding, too). Peace News Hours add up to something over the years.

THE EDITOR.

By Sybil Morrison

NUCLEAR TEST MATCH

I am pulling out because I am satisfied that the danger of direct attack on the NATO countries is now very remote. What might be called the European Test Match can be postponed indefinitely because of the nuclear deterrent strength of NATO . . . There may be village cricket elsewhere in the world; in fact, local and cold war activities outside the NATO area are likely to increase. These must be dealt with promptly, or else such local matches could build up into a Test Match.

—Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery. Sunday Times, November 17, 1957.

VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY, whose name as a great soldier is probably well-deserved, reveals nevertheless, in his remarks on the occasion of his retirement, the mentality of a prep-school boy.

This same mentality in Churchill has been made apparent in many recent memoirs, and it would scarcely be of any importance, since great men are expected to have their idiosyncracies, if it were not that these are the men who plan for war, and in whose hands millions of lives are placed.

A childish mentality wedded to supreme power is highly dangerous and can be fatal.

It is not unusual in this country to equate events with the game of cricket, and to use cricketing metaphors about quite important happenings; indeed, it is considered by many to be a rather comically endearing characteristic of the British people.

★

This last peculiarly irresponsible utterance from a so-called "great" man, is, however, much more tragic, and in fact, alarming, than it is either endearing or comical.

The village cricket, it is to be assumed, is equated here with such wars as those in Korea, Indo-China, Algeria, Suez, or Oman; the casual sounding suggestion that in the future the world will have more of these "little" wars, and the statement that they must be speedily dealt with, has an underlying ring of relief in it.

In fact the impression given is, that because nuclear weapons can be relied upon to prevent a "Test Match" between the Great Powers, it is considered by Viscount Montgomery to be just as well that the "village matches" will go on. It would be rather too bad, he seems to imply, if there were to be no more cricket just because the Tests had to be "indefinitely postponed".

Dealing with "village matches" means, no doubt, winning against the opposing side; the fact that in the process people are killed and mutilated and rendered homeless is disguised by the metaphorical language used, which is designed either to administer a bromide against alarm, or is the natural attitude of a certain kind of mentality.

To an Army Officer it is no doubt necessary, when making decisions, to think of the battalions or divisions, the platoons or the companies, not as men—fathers, brothers or husbands—but as expendable players in a game, in which some of them must inevitably fall.

This total lack, or deliberate smothering, of imagination is, probably, an essential part of their equipment and qualification for their job.

★

Nevertheless, to speak of a nuclear war as a European Test Match, as though the Ashes to be won could be anything but the dust and ashes of a burned up earth, a lost civilisation, a destroyed human race, is to abdicate from greatness, and descend to most untimely and deplorable frivolity.

Field-Marshal Montgomery is, of course, not alone in apparently sincerely believing that a contest between the Great Powers is "indefinitely postponed", but it is a phrase which has in it no assurance for those who cannot so easily blind themselves to the fact that the nuclear race not only goes on, but grows more menacing every day.

Even if this were not so; even if it were certain that the deterrent effect would be permanent, the deliberate reliance upon the most evil invention that man has ever conceived, is a betrayal of all the principles on which the so-called free world is supposed to base its way of life.

To compare it with a game played for the amusement and gratification of the populace, is in itself a most dangerous pastime, and moreover, it is a deadly sin against humanity.

The real test is not between two sides struggling for victory, but between good and evil. The sun has not yet gone down; the light is still good enough to finish the match; good may yet prevail.

LATE NEWS

Prisoners for Peace Day

(See page three)

A Prisoners for Peace Day poster parade will be held in Copenhagen.

The Hobart Peace Forum, Tasmania, and the Brethren Service Commission Office in Geneva have activities planned for Dec. 1.

London: Peace Pledge Union headquarters at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, will be open on Dec. 1 from 2 p.m. until the march begins at 7 p.m. Christmas cards, envelopes, stamps and the lists of prisoners will be available for those who wish to send greetings.

The new Stoke Newington Friends Meeting House in North London will be kept open from 2.15 to 1 p.m. after the Meeting for Worship. Christmas cards and lists of prisoners will be available. The local Press has been notified and sympathisers are invited to call in and send a greeting card to a war resister in prison.

FoR and PPU headquarters have a special leaflet available free for distribution on the day.

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